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# ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE

*As Steps Toward a Warless World*

## PRESIDENT HARDING

**I** ONCE believed in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come to believe there is a better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it. And justice is better served in conferences of peace than in conflicts at arms."

(Feb. 6, 1922.)

**"Either these treaties must have your cordial sanction or every proclaimed desire to promote peace and prevent war becomes a hollow mockery."**

(Feb. 11, 1922.)

ISSUED BY

THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOOD-WILL  
OF  
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

105 EAST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK CITY

# Do You Endorse the President's Peace Program?

## Will You Help Secure Ratification of the Treaties?

**T**HESE are questions not only for Senators, but for all American citizens. A moral crisis has arrived for the United States.

Shall we continue to travel our own independent road of isolation? Or shall we take our place among the nations desiring to cooperate for the creation of mutual confidence and the maintenance of universal peace? Shall we put faith in international law, in treaties and in international commitments? And shall we seek to substitute law for war and international cooperation for selfish competition? If the latter are our ideals and desires, then our immediate duty is clear:—

1. Let us enact the treaties promptly and with enthusiasm.
2. Let us enact them together, for they constitute a whole that should not be mutilated.

The Federal Council of the Churches, while taking no stand on questions of political procedure, is firmly convinced that in the ratification or the rejection of the treaties proposed by the Conference a grave moral issue is involved which the American people cannot evade.

CONSTITUENT BODIES OF THE  
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Baptist Churches, North  
National Baptist Convention  
Free Baptist Churches  
Christian Church  
Christian Reformed Church  
in North America  
Churches of God in N. A.  
(General Eldership)  
Congregational Churches  
Disciples of Christ  
Friends  
Evangelical Synod of N. A.

Evangelical Association  
Methodist Episcopal Church  
Methodist Episcopal Church, South  
African M. E. Church  
African M. E. Zion Church  
Colored M. E. Church in Africa  
Methodist Protestant Church  
Moravian Church  
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.  
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.  
(South)  
Primitive Methodist Church

Protestant Episcopal Commissions on  
Christian Unity and Social Service  
Reformed Church in America  
Reformed Church in the U. S.  
Reformed Episcopal Church  
Reformed Presbyterian Church,  
General Synod  
Seventh Day Baptist Churches  
United Brethren Church  
United Evangelical Church  
United Presbyterian Church  
United Lutheran Church  
(Consultative Body)

# The Third Call to 150,000 Churches in America

## *The Church Campaign for A Warless World*

“THE end of the Conference is the beginning of the Conquest.” The Washington Conference has done its work. It has started the nations facing toward a Warless World. It has turned the attention of the world to plans for the practice of permanent peace. It has brought within the range of practical possibility the ending of competitive navies, the scrapping of many capital ships and large reduction in naval expenditures.

The Churches have rendered notable service during recent months, and have good cause for thanksgiving. Far more was done at Washington than was thought possible. Our immediate task is to arouse public opinion to the importance of prompt ratification of the treaties by the Senate. This is the next imperative step in the march of mankind toward a Warless World.

The persistent drive of public opinion must continue during the months and even the years ahead. Our campaign must go on until “war is outlawed” by joint action of all the nations through an effective peace system firmly established.

A Warless World can never be imposed by Governments on peoples, but it can be imposed by peoples on Governments. The success of the Conference at Washington is the first great victory in the people’s war against war.

Members in the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Hebrew Churches and Synagogues of the United States, according to the figures for December 31, 1921, number 45,997,199. In England and Germany, in Scandinavia and Russia and in every country in Christendom Christians constitute large and powerful groups, in many cases, large majorities. They can establish a world peace system and *they can outlaw war, if they will.*



# The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America Now Urges the Churches:

## In Regard to Ratifying the Treaties

1. To start an immediate movement in each locality for prompt and intelligent discussion of the treaties now before the Senate as practical steps in establishing the Kingdom of God in international relations.

2. To promote the study of the treaties and their moral significance in various groups in all our churches.

3. To arrange that large numbers of petitions and personal letters shall go at once to Senators, expressing the conclusions reached in regard to the ratification of the treaties.

## When the Treaties Are Ratified

1. To give special thanks to God in public prayer on the first Sunday following the ratification, and to make mention in sermons of the new epoch on which the world is starting.

2. To secure action by town or city authorities to designate as a special day of celebration the first Saturday after the Senate ratifies the Treaties. On that day on all public buildings and on every home let the American flag be flown as a symbol of the joy of the people. Let us celebrate the first major Victory of the War against War. The people should be helped to understand and to rejoice in the first great Victory of Peace. For a mighty victory has been won in which none were defeated and not one life was lost.

4. To emphasize frequently in the services connected with national holidays and on other special occasions the Christian belief in the practicability of a Warless World. Christians should earnestly strive for still further sweeping reduction of armament by all the nations as an imperative step toward the ultimate goal.

5. To promote the careful study of the Federal Council's pamphlets on international relations, on a Warless World and its "Declaration of International Ideals and Policy Looking toward a Warless World."

6. To organize in each of the larger cities a Committee on International Justice and Goodwill, representing all the churches, for vigorous and continuous cooperation in a long and arduous campaign for an international world-order that is Christian in principle.

7. To urge each denomination to establish its own committee or department on International Justice and Goodwill. This campaign to end war, to establish God's Kingdom in the international life of the world, can only be won when the Churches as Churches make it central and vital in their Church programs. Should they not be as earnest and active for a Warless World as they were to win victory in the great war?

8. To keep in touch with the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in order that the many regiments and armies of the church may keep step and may march together in their war to end war.

9. To bring the sanctions of religious enthusiasm and of moral idealism to the support of world cooperation for world-justice, world-liberty and world-peace. The victories of peace should be celebrated and glorified no less than those of war. The halo of popular acclaim should be accorded to heroes who win justice and peace for mankind. Parades, banners, floats and every device for arousing popular patriotic enthusiasm, which have been so effectively used in support of war, should now be brought into the service of the war against war.

# Purpose of the Washington Conference

*President Harding*

"A world staggering with debt needs its burden lifted. Humanity which has been shocked by wanton destruction would minimize the agencies of that destruction. Contemplating the measureless cost of war and the continuing burden of armament, all thoughtful peoples wish for real limitation of armament and would like war outlawed.

"The world never before was so tragically brought to realization of the utter futility of passion's sway when reason and conscience and fellowship point a nobler way."

(Nov. 12, 1921)

*Secretary Hughes*

"The world looks to this conference to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armament, and it is the view of the American Government that we should meet that expectation without any unnecessary delay.

"Competition will not be remedied by resolves with respect to the method of its continuance. One program inevitably leads to another, and, if competition continues, its regulation is impracticable. There is only one adequate way out, and that is to end it now."

(Nov. 12, 1921)

## What the Washington Conference Proposes

On Friday, February 10, 1922, President Harding presented to the Senate for ratification the Treaties, which resulted from the Washington Conference,—a Conference which was opened and closed with prayer. These treaties have sought to give concrete expression and practical embodiment to broad international principles of fellowship and cooperation which are essentially Christian. They deserve serious study in all our Churches. Their substance, together with three treaties negotiated outside of the Conference, may be summarized as follows:

1. To scrap many existing Capital Ships and stop building new ones—a five-Power fifteen-year treaty.

	<i>To be scrapped</i>	<i>To be retained</i>	<i>Permanent—after 10 years</i>
United States . . . . .	845,740 tons	500,650 tons	525,000 tons
Great Britain . . . . .	583,375 "	580,450 "	525,000 "
Japan . . . . .	289,100 "	301,320 "	315,000 "

2. To continue the navy ratio indefinitely until two years after the treaty has been denounced by one of the five Powers concerned.
- marines as commerce destroyers and to accept the prohibition as binding between the signatory Powers.

3. To limit the caliber of guns on naval vessels to sixteen inches.

4. To condemn and prohibit the use of sub-

5. To condemn and prohibit absolutely all poison gas warfare, and to accept the prohibition as binding between the signatory Powers.

6. To enact a four-Power, ten-year Peace Treaty regarding all Island possessions in the Pacific.

7. To stop building naval bases on specified Islands in the Western Pacific.

8. To enact a permanent treaty between nine Powers for just, fair and friendly treatment of China, specifically dealing with the questions of

(a) Consular Courts, judicial autonomy and extraterritoriality.

(b) Post Offices of other nations (to be ended by 1923), and Wireless Establishments.

(c) Tariff adjustment (looking to ultimate autonomy).

(d) Unauthorized foreign troops.

9. To confer together whenever any Power feels that threatening difficulties are developing in regard to China.

10. To establish a Commission of the nine Powers to deal with alleged infringements of the "open door" agreements.

#### IMPORTANT AGREEMENTS REACHED OUTSIDE THE CONFERENCE

(a) To settle the Yap Cable Dispute.

(b) To settle the question of American rights in Japanese "Mandates" in the Pacific.

(c) To return Shantung completely to China.

## The Most Important Achievements of the Conference

The real achievements of the Washington Conference go far beyond the treaties agreed to and the details of the plans laid out. These achievements are the manifestations of great principles revealing themselves to humanity, the expression of a new spirit and a new ideal, and the embodiment in outward expression of far-reaching implications.

These principles, spirit and implications and their concrete results are many and varied. The more important may well receive brief mention.

1. For the first time in history great and powerful rival nations have actually consented to reduce vast and expensive armaments already existing or in process of construction. Hitherto, vanquished nations have been disarmed by force. Never have unconquered, still powerful nations voluntarily reduced their armaments by agreements in conference.

2. The value of the method of conference as a substitute for war for settling international difficulties has been given striking illustration. A wonderful precedent has been set. The Washington Conference might be called a Peace Conference before war instead of after war—as the custom of the nations has been hitherto.

3. An unprecedentedly wide education of the nations in internationalism and for permanent

peace has taken place, an education of incalculable value.

4. The power of public opinion has been revealed in a new and encouraging way. Millions have learned how to cooperate in shaping national policy.

5. The extreme importance of maintaining right relations with other nations has been brought home to our nation as never before, and also the great dangers in international misunderstandings.

6. A new attitude toward China and more correct relations with her have been initiated. Justice and opportunity for her is in process now of achievement, if she can do her part. The new policy provides for international co-



operation in the development of China in place of separate national aggressions and destructive rivalries.

7. The rights and the welfare of China herself now begin to be acknowledged as of superior importance to the economic interests of foreign nations. A new attitude of the popular mind toward Japan and her problems has been produced. The prophecies of war so general less than a year ago have quietly vanished—like the poisonous miasma of the swamps and bogs before the rising sun and a fresh north wind. What a change has taken place! And what a relief of tension!

8. A more successful, less costly and more noble method of “preparedness” has been dis-

covered by many noble men who until recently could see no way by which to assure national security and honor other than by vast and costly military preparations.

9. International public opinion has been manifested in condemnation of military pressure and of military methods as legitimate ways by which to secure special national interests.

10. Internal good faith and mutual confidence have been recognized as vital factors of permanent world peace.

11. The principle is now recognized by many nations that their own highest welfare can be best secured through cooperation with other nations on a peace basis rather than through opposition on a war basis.

## The Real Significance of the Conference

The real significance of the Washington Conference lies more in the *spirit* and the *motives* of the nations concerned than in the details of the achievements or even in the by-products, important though they are. They would have been impossible without the spirit back of them.

The real and essential *Spirit of the Conference* was one of sincerity and of *confidence*. This spirit was manifested by the most powerful nations of the world, in spite of occasional discussions in which questions were raised and a spirit displayed that indicated more or less of doubt and uncertainty. By their prolonged and patient deliberations they proved that they profoundly desired to abandon the attitudes of suspicion and fear and rivalry that have been so common in the past and to enter upon relations of mutual trust, goodwill and cooperation.

“This Conference has been to a far greater extent than any other that I can recall, a Conference of renunciation. We have seen here great nations abandon long established and deeply cherished national policies and renounce advantages once thought essential to the welfare of their people; and this is not for value received but simply out of a decent respect to the opinion of mankind.” — Count D’Alte, February 5, 1922.

In the words of Secretary Hughes closing the plenary session of February first, “no more extraordinary or significant treaty has ever been entered into” than that agreed to by the nations to limit and to scrap their capital ships. “We no longer talk of the desirability of diminishing the burdens of naval armaments but we actually limit them. . . . This treaty ends, absolutely ends, competition in naval armaments. . . . The relative security of the great naval powers is left unimpaired. . . .

We are talking of arms in the language of peace. . . . We are taking perhaps the greatest forward step to establish the reign of peace."

The spirit and the motives of the nations are clearly the most important factors in the ultimate achievement of a Warless World. As Secretary Hughes himself once expressed it "the will to peace" on the part of peoples is the most necessary of all the factors for securing peace.

A few additional items deserve separate emphasis.

1. Great Britain accepted America as an equal sea power. This is an event of extraordinary significance. It is of course highly satisfactory to the United States as an expression of her confidence in America's goodwill and trustworthiness.

2. The Conference has set a new standard of international procedure. Never before has there been such openness in international diplomacy. This has been due in large part, no doubt, to the peoples' insistent desires. With one voice they have demanded that they might know what their representatives were saying and promising.

3. The Conference has shown that the danger

of war in the Pacific lies in the rival desires, ambitions and plans of the nations in regard to commercial and financial interests. War in the Pacific, it has become clear, would be a war for trade and investment and not for moral aims.

4. Questions of war and of peace are now more fully recognized as matters for the people to determine. This means they must know the facts, understand the issues, and appreciate the principles involved in international relations and responsibilities. They need, therefore, to develop an intelligent comprehension of the ways and the machinery of peace as well as to have the "will to peace."

5. The Conference has been a vast school for millions in many nations on the facts and the principles of international life.

## What the Signatory Nations Gain by the Conference

1. Curtailment of the enormous naval expenses. The reduction of taxes for the United States may not be as much as many have anticipated because so large a part of our present Government expenditures are due to interest and pensions growing out of past wars. But substantial reductions should now take place in all naval budgets.

2. Increase of capital available for productive industries, for education, for health promotion and for similar constructive interests.

3. A moratorium on war-talk and of war-scare propaganda. Few ordinary citizens realize how seriously they have been influenced

by sinister interests in their efforts to boost big appropriations.

4. Increase of international confidence and goodwill and corresponding reduction of international suspicion, fear and animosity. Fear begets fear—confidence begets confidence. Many causes of misunderstanding have been removed.

5. Turning of thousands of young men from unproductive to productive lives. The real power of each nation has been increased and at the same time "vested interests" making for war have been materially diminished.



6. Increased national security and at a much less cost. There is no danger whatever of war between nations that trust each other. The Canadian border (5,500 miles long) without a fort or a soldier is eloquent testimony to the economy and security based on mutual confidence and goodwill. This attitude of nations should become universal.

7. A new mental attitude between many powerful nations. The hope is already rising that before the ten-year naval holiday has ended, the agencies for permanent world peace may be so firmly established and the peace spirit of the nations may be so strong that all navies and all armies, except those for police purposes, may be completely abolished, and a Warless World may be realized.

## What Individual Nations Gain by the Conference

### I. The United States and Japan

The Conference has already largely changed the mutual feelings of the United States and Japan to the great advantage of both. Foolish talk and wasteful preparations for war have already stopped. This will make more easy the complete settlement of still remaining issues and difficulties.

### II. The United States, Great Britain and Japan

In place of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which was becoming a source of irritation and cleavage between the nations having interests in the Pacific, the new four-power treaty will be a source of confidence and of friendship between all the nations concerned. It will continue British friendship with Japan, promote goodwill between the United States and Great Britain and bind together in a single interest all the English-speaking countries of the world. The full significance of this fact cannot yet be estimated. This treaty does not create an "alliance" of four great Powers for selfish or aggressive purposes. It is rather a compact of goodwill and of determination to settle every difficulty between themselves and between any one of the four nations and any fifth power—by conference rather than by competitive armaments and menace of war.

### III. Russia and Germany

Neither country was represented at the Conference. Both, however, were there in spirit as real factors, if not as invited guests. Their

rights and needs were not specially considered, but thoughts of them were ever in the background. One may regret that the Conference did not specifically declare its purpose to provide for their interests as well as for those of the participating nations.

But did they lose anything at the Conference? If it had been a conference of victors meeting after war to divide up all the loot in sight in a spirit of selfish greed, Russia and Germany would have profited little. As it was, the pledge of the door for trade and investment in China equally open to all, means equal opportunity for them as well as for the rest. They will have the same access and the same opportunity as the United States has, if the game is hereafter played on the square.

And in fact the Powers were not wholly unmindful of Russian interests in the Eastern Chinese Railway. Pledges were given by Japan for complete withdrawal of her military forces from Siberia as soon as suitable guarantees can be secured for the protection of Japanese lives and property in that territory. The United States placed on the record its attitude and its policy in regard to Siberia. On the whole therefore Germany and Russia were gainers rather than losers by the Conference.

### IV. China

Already China has gained much—very much. She has had opportunity, well used, to place her case before the world. The *peoples* of the different countries begin to see how the Governments of Europe and of Japan have been deal-

ing with China for many decades. China's own internal chaos also and the reasons for it, are better realized. A new understanding of and a new sympathy for the Chinese people has arisen in America.

Assuming that the nations concerned now ratify the treaties and live up to them loyally, what will be the gain to China? Much in every way.

1. China is on a fair way to recover full possession not only of Shantung, but also of Wei-hai-wei, and Kwanchao-wan. By prompt popular action the Shantung railway may be completely owned by China in five years. A splendid opportunity has been given to Chinese patriotism for dramatic action.

2. Further predatory aggressions of foreign governments will stop if China does her part and the covenanting nations do their duty.

3. China's actual commitments to foreign nations will become known to the world through the official filing and publication of all past commitments and treaties. Secret treaties and commitments will be no longer possible.

4. Chinese patriots have secured a Magna Charta from the world's most powerful nations, upon which securely to build their national edifice and to realize their aspirations for justice, liberty and integrity. They will now have opportunity to set their own house in order by establishing a real, national Government, free from graft and competent to deal with other Governments.

5. As rapidly as she qualifies, China stands to recover full political, juridical, financial, territorial and administrative autonomy and sovereignty at least within the area of "China proper."

6. China will be freed from now on from the fear of hateful foreign domination. The sword of Damocles that has been hanging over her head for seven years—Group V of the "21 demands"—has been officially withdrawn by Japan.

7. China has not indeed secured immediate possession and recovery of all that her ardent patriots desired and demanded. Many prob-

lems are still unsolved. But the doors of opportunity have been opened. A splendid vista lies ahead to reward patriotic endeavor. China's future is bright with hopes and promise, if China's patriots will make it so.

## V. Japan

Japan also is a large gainer by the Washington Conference.

1. Important reductions will be made in her annual naval budgets and her corresponding taxes for many years to come. A smaller navy, a reduced staff and no increase in her island naval bases, mean more in financial ways for Japan than do the same items mean for America.

2. Chilling war-scare stories of impending conflict with America and efforts to arouse race antipathies and animosities will not be so popular or easy to put across as in the past, while the people of Japan will be more ready to understand and believe other peoples.

3. Militarism will find it more difficult to give reasons for its existence and its demands. Liberalism will have a much better opportunity to grow and to take practical control of national policies and of international relations.

4. Understanding by Americans of Japan's problems and needs is developing—a matter of much importance to Japan. It is bringing a new sympathy for Japan and her people. Whatever may have been the policies of aggression and of greed adopted by her leaders in 1915, Japan has done much during the Conference to convince American leaders of her good faith now.

5. A good beginning has also been made in establishing right relations between China and Japan. This is a matter of incalculable significance, not only for Japanese trade and investments, but for the political relations of the two countries during all the decades and centuries ahead. Friendly relations with China are vital for Japan. Her future existence depends on it. The serious blunders and wrongs of 1914-1920 now begin to be rectified.

6. Abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance will benefit Japan in several ways; it removes the need of maintaining military forces suited to meet the obligations it involved. Militarists now do not have that excuse for insisting on a large army. It removes temptation to conduct and to policies that were prompted by the alliance. And it removes a serious cause of irritation and suspicion that was rapidly developing in the United States.

## VI. Other Nations

All the nations are safer. They can more readily adopt policies of naval and military reduction because the danger of a world-war in the Pacific has been so effectively overcome. The whole world can plan for world peace now as they could not plan a year ago. This advantage for all cannot easily be estimated or computed.

## The Settlement of the Shantung Question

The settlement of the Shantung question is so significant an achievement that it deserves separate discussion. It was made possible by the Conference although it was not an achievement of the Conference. A number of points need distinct emphasis.

1. The settlement is not to be regarded as a defeat or a victory for either side. It was better—a compromise and a reconciliation. The Chinese secured that which they most wanted, while the Japanese secured what to them was most important. Both made important concessions.

2. The settlement was accomplished as a result of many (36) prolonged conferences of the Chinese and Japanese delegates. Both groups are to be congratulated both for the results and also for their patience and persistence. It was far better that this settlement should be reached by the two groups by themselves than by the Conference as a whole.

3. The British and American delegates are also to be congratulated on their patient, helpful, private cooperation.

4. Japan's agreement to return Shantung fulfills the verbal promise made by Japan to the Powers at the Paris Conference.

5. Failure to reach a settlement would have meant a serious situation for Japan, not only in the inevitably rising tide of hostility toward her in China, but also in the deepening anti-Japanese feeling that would without doubt have developed in the United States.

6. Failure to reach a settlement would have meant a bitter disappointment and a humiliating defeat for China, whose main desire and objective in attending the Conference was to secure the complete return to China of all economic and sovereign rights in Shantung.

7. Failure to reach a settlement would have been generally regarded as a colossal failure of the Conference itself. For the principal aim of the Conference was to remove causes of war in the Far East. Of these the Shantung question was generally felt to be the chief. Had the Conference closed without a settlement having been reached in this matter, public opinion throughout the world would have concluded that the chief danger of war had not been solved—and that all the other treaties and resolutions of the Conference would ultimately prove futile.

## What the Conference Did Not Do

The Conference did not solve all the problems in the Pacific and the Far East. Nor did it accomplish much for the more immediately pressing problems of Europe. But their enumeration is not necessary in this pamphlet, for the Conference is to be judged by its accomplishments, not by the tasks which remain.



The real greatness of the achievements will be clearer to us five years hence or ten, than they can be now. But even now, how substantial the achievements were can in a measure be realized when we look at the extraordinary difficulties that had to be and were in fact so largely overcome.

1. The Conference had to battle with war psychology and the war spirit of the nations. They were always in the background and often-times clearly in evidence, especially in the discussions of ratios, replacements, naval bases, and new weapons of war. In essence and in principle they were overcome.

2. When critics point out how this nation and that failed to make the most of their extraordinary opportunities for winning each other's goodwill and confidence, all fair-minded men will not fail to note how much they did accomplish—what a great access of goodwill and confidence has actually been achieved.

3. Those who declare that the nations would have done much better had they agreed to still larger reductions in their auxiliary ships, should be reminded of the extraordinary significance of the reductions which were agreed to. The possibility of the success of the Conference lay exactly in its not attempting to do too much, in confining itself to a definite and clearly practicable proposal—as Secretary Hughes so well pointed out in one of his closing addresses.

4. The greatness of the results achieved now give hope and thus make possible in the not far distant future, a serious grappling with the remaining problems and tasks.

## Two Alternatives Before the American People

The various proposals of the Conference are now before the Senate in the shape of seven Treaties. But they in fact are now before the people. Two alternatives are before us.

### 1. Shall We Reject the Proposed Treaties?

1. Do we wish to base our national security entirely upon armaments?
2. Do we wish to have other nations believe that America intends to have undisputed sway in the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, and is going to build the most powerful navy in the world?
3. Do we believe that our trade and investment in the Far East can best be secured by a policy of international isolation, with reliance on a big navy and impregnable naval bases for the achievement of our policies and the maintenance of our "vital interests"?

If so, then we should let our Senators know.

## 2. Shall We Accept the Proposed Treaties?

1. Do we wish to cooperate with other nations in maintaining our common security and our common "vital interests"?
2. Shall we seek by mutual understanding and through common agreements without talk or thought of war to adjust all difficulties in friendly conferences?
3. Do we wish other nations really to believe that we have no plans or policies or desires for selfish aggrandizement or for any action that may be harmful to their interests?

If so, then we should let our Senators know, and ask them to ratify the proposed treaties.

## The Interest of the Churches in the Ratification of the Treaties

The Church has no more "vital interest" than her "war against war" and the establishment of a Warless World. Her very life is involved in the achievement of this ideal. War under modern conditions threatens every higher interest of the human race.

"If we do not destroy war, War will destroy us," said the late Viscount Bryce. And it was our own General Tasker H. Bliss who laid upon Christians in the United States the responsibility of putting an end to war.

American Christians have not been altogether indifferent to the evil of war, as has sometimes been charged against them. In hundreds of resolutions and declarations for many years their national and local bodies have proclaimed their judgment that wars should cease, that international courts of justice and boards of arbitration should be established, and that all international disputes should be settled by reason and law, and not by war. Their resolutions and utterances and sermons of the last two decades would fill many volumes.

The zeal of churches and of Christians in supporting the Government of the United States in its recent war against Germany was due to the conviction that this was the "war to end war"; that out of this war would come a firm movement of all the great nations to establish the essential institutions of international justice which would provide security and fair

economic opportunity for all the nations alike, great and small, strong and weak. The failure since the armistice to establish these institutions has been the cause of profound disappointment and anxiety to millions of Christians who see in them the beginning of the embodiment in international life of the ideals and principles of the Kingdom of God and the fulfillment of age-old prophecies.

The Churches have united on many occasions to express their convictions and their hopes for a world-order that is Christian in principle. In the spring of 1921 they joined in a remarkable movement for a World Conference on Disarmament. "Disarmament Sunday," June 5, 1921, was jointly appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Council and the two Jewish National Groups. The call was sent by the Church Peace Union to 120,000 ministers of all denominations. Tens

of thousands of pulpits on that day turned the attention of the people to the dangers of competitive armaments, to the staggering economic burdens of past and prospective wars, to the menace of war to the whole world and to the principles and ideals of Christianity as the only practicable solution for the curse and the wrong of war.

A petition signed by 22,500 ministers was presented to President Harding on June 21, 1921, calling for a "Conference on Disarmament." From the time that President Harding first announced in July his invitation to five nations, until the end of the Washington Conference, the churches of America have maintained a vigorous campaign for the creation of a wholesome atmosphere for the success of the Conference. Tens of thousands of special meetings were held during October and on November 6th and November 11th. A mighty volume of prayer has ascended continuously from every part of our land for God's guidance and blessing for the Conference. Special study courses were prepared by the Federal Council of Churches. Millions of pages of printed material were issued—all dealing with the various aspects of the insistent demands of the church for a Warless World, for the beating of swords into plowshares and for ceasing to learn war any more.

The Conference for which the churches prayed has now done its work and reported its proposals in seven important treaties.

A new task now faces the churches if they are to carry their program to fruition. The treaties must be ratified. If the Conference is to have any real meaning and to accomplish any real results the treaties must be ratified.

In a peculiar sense and to a peculiar degree the creation of public opinion in support of ratification is the task and also the opportunity of the churches. Failure at this point would be a terrible disaster. It would have been better to have had no Conference at all. Failure means that the race in competitive armaments will start up afresh. It will go on with redoubled vigor—at least between America and Japan. War in the Pacific in the near future will be practically certain.

**The next step, therefore, in the establishment of the Kingdom of God among men is the ratification of the treaties by which to "stop the next war now."**

**All churches and all Christians have unescapable responsibility in this matter.**

**When nations learn of His ways and walk in His paths they will begin to "beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks."**

**Will your church—will you—have a part in winning our first great victory in the war to end War?**

## After Ratification — What?

Ratification will not by itself alone outlaw war nor inaugurate the era of permanent World Peace. It is only the next step in that direction, the beginning of the campaign for a Warless World.

Permanent World Peace can be achieved only by the peoples of all the world, through universal conferences and by common agreements in which all the chief nations participate.

Problems, for instance, like aeroplanes, poison gas, disease germs and land armaments involve fifty nations. Questions of general economic interests and rights involve every people. These problems can be solved only by general conferences and by joint treaties between fifty



nations. If even one powerful, industrialized nation remains outside the general conferences and agreements and will have nothing to do with them, insisting on having its own unlimited and arbitrary way, the whole international situation is endangered not only for all the others, but also for itself.

The cooperation of all is essential. Every principal nation must be made to feel and to feel confidently that it shares in the formulation of the common agreements, that its vital interests and its honor will be secure, and that it will have just treatment and fair economic opportunity at the hands of all its sister nations.

Hitherto war has been the only means by which nations could settle definitely their international disputes. Their sense of security has been based on their military power. The defeated had to accept the verdict and the will of the victor. If now we seek to establish a warless world we must create some substitute for war—a substitute that will *settle* disputes and that will give the sense of security for which nations have developed their armaments. These considerations point the way to the program that lies ahead of those who believe in a Warless World.

What the United States now needs to do in our international relations is, in the words of the Declaration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America adopted December 16, 1921, **"to associate itself promptly with the other nations of the world, to establish**

**permanent institutions for the formulation of international law, for the effective operation of the International Court of Justice and boards of arbitration and conciliation, for the assurance to law-abiding and peace-loving nations of security from attack and spoliation by any lawless and aggressive nation, and for the provision of fair treatment and equal economic opportunity to all."**

**"We believe there is only one way to outlaw war. We must first establish a peace system. Mere disarmament by itself alone will not stop war. Only the firm establishment of the institutions and agencies of justice and of liberty under law, maintained by effective sanctions at the hands of law-abiding and peace-loving nations, can possibly banish war from this war-cursed world. The most urgent need of mankind today is the speedy establishment of international institutions to assure equal justice, full security and fair economic opportunity for all nations alike. These are essential prerequisites to permanent peace."**

What remains, therefore, to be done by forward-looking citizens of the United States, after the treaties have been ratified, is to arouse a powerful public opinion in this land, by the active support of which the Administration will venture to take the steps needed for associating itself with the other nations of the world for creating and maintaining the institutions of peace.

## International Ideals of the Churches of Christ in America

### I.

*We Believe* that nations no less than individuals are subject to God's immutable moral laws.

### II.

*We Believe* that nations achieve true welfare, greatness and honor only through just dealing and unselfish service.

### III.

*We Believe* that nations that regard themselves as Christians have special international obligations.

### IV.

*We Believe* that the spirit of Christian brotherliness can remove every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed and race.

### V.

*We Believe* that *Christian* patriotism demands the practice of good-will between nations.

### VI.

*We Believe* that international policies should secure equal justice for all races.

### VII.

*We Believe* that all nations should associate themselves permanently for world peace and good-will.

### VIII.

*We Believe* in international law, and in the universal use of international courts of justice and boards of arbitration.

### IX.

*We Believe* in a sweeping reduction of armaments by all nations.

### X.

*We Believe* in a warless world, and dedicate ourselves to its achievement.